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he presides over the Council of Ministers. In this there is something else than mere custom; there is the character, the personal authority of the man. Such a president, for example, as Jules Grévy, who had never been a minister, knew how to exert a decisive influence upon the council. He let the ministers speak first, himself listening but saying nothing; then, under the guise of concluding the matter, he would sum up the discussion and would contrive to insinuate his own opinion, with such finesse and with such dialectic power that, in the end, he generally brought about its adoption.

This is far more perspicacious comment than Sir Henry Maine's famous and superficial epigram regarding the French presidency.

The only adverse criticism of this volume that I can think of is that it is too short. One would like it better were it three or four times as long. Books of this quality always instruct, and never tire.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Die Politischen Geheimverträge Oesterreich-Ungarns, 1879-1914, nach den Akten des Wiener Staatsarchivs.* Von ALFRED FRANZIS PRIBRAM, O. ö. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Wien. Band I. (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller. 1920. Pp. vii, 327.)

*The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914.* By Dr. ALFRED FRANZIS PRIBRAM, Professor of History in the University of Vienna. English edition by ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, Harvard University. Volume I. *Texts of the Treaties and Agreements*, with Translations by DENYS P. MYERS and J. G. D'ARCY PAUL. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xvii, 308.)

THE hope of historical students that from the disasters of war and revolution might result some compensation in the form of diplomatic revelations will be gratified by the appearance of this volume. No phase of recent diplomatic history has been more tantalizing than the formation and development of the Triple Alliance and its complementary treaties and conventions; for while historians have been able to deduce the general character of the treaties, the almost perfect secrecy in which their texts have been shrouded defied every attempt to determine their exact scope, and made impossible any comprehensive and adequate description of the negotiations which led up to them. The text of the German-Austrian treaty of 1879 was known to us in part, and the accompanying negotiations have been described in Wertheimer's *Andrássy*; while Professor Coolidge has summarized in his *Origins of the Triple Alliance* all the information hitherto available on that phase of diplomatic activity. Four articles of one of the Triple Alliance treaties were published in 1915 by the Austro-Hungarian government, together with

the conventions between Italy and Austria-Hungary concluded in 1900 and 1909 concerning the Balkans and particularly Albania. The text of the Russian-German-Austrian convention of 1881 (League of the Three Emperors) was made public recently by Germany, and the more vital portions of the text of the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 were published by Professor Goriainov in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1918 (XXIII. 324-349). But from such comparatively slim material it was impossible to reconstruct the history of Austria's relations with her neighbors or to complete a really satisfactory study of the scope and character of the Triple Alliance. Great credit should be given to the work of Singer, Helmolt, Friedjung, and Fráknoi, but their conclusions could obviously not be definitive.

Dr. Pribram, who soon after the revolution of November, 1918, was granted access to the secret papers of the Vienna state archives, has given us in this volume documents indispensable to the comprehension of Hapsburg foreign policy from 1879 to 1914, many of which throw strong light upon that of Austria's neighbors, Italy in particular. It is an interesting and important collection. Besides the treaties referred to above, the complete texts of which are now published, he includes the protocols of 1883 and 1902 prolonging the Austro-German alliance of 1879; the five treaties of the Triple Alliance (1882, 1887, 1891, 1902, 1912); the treaties of the Austro-Serbian alliance (1881, 1889); the treaties of alliance between Rumania on the one hand and Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy on the other, with their prolongations (1883, 1888, 1892, 1896, 1902, 1913); the Mediterranean agreements between Austria, Italy, and Great Britain (1887) and Italy and Spain (1887, 1891); and the Austro-Russian treaties of 1897 and 1904 dealing with the Balkans and with the maintenance of neutrality. As an annex at the end of his volume appears the Austro-German-Italian naval agreement of 1913.

In the second portion of his work Dr. Pribram supplies a narrative of the negotiations that resulted in the treaties of the Triple Alliance. That narrative, covering 186 pages, is divided into seven sections, each of which deals with the making of one of the five treaties and the two automatic renewals of the Triple Alliance in 1896 and 1907. Dr. Pribram points out the impossibility, in view of the complex nature of the subject, of adhering to chronological order in dealing with the negotiations of all the treaties which he publishes; he reserves, accordingly, for a later volume his account of the negotiations leading up to the separate treaties with Russia, Serbia, Rumania, Germany, and Italy. His narrative of the Triple Alliance negotiations, contained in the present volume, is compressed and pragmatic in style. He disclaims any intention of writing a complete history of the Triple Alliance, avoiding all discussion of political conditions or interpretative generalizations, and restricts himself to a rather bald but fully documented account of the treaty nego-

tiations simply. The intricate course of those negotiations is admirably elucidated in an introduction immediately preceding his narrative. Dr. Pribram himself emphasizes the fact that even this strictly diplomatic narrative is incomplete, inasmuch as he has investigated only the Vienna state archives, and that his work needs to be supplemented, especially on the side of the stipulations of the treaties that concerned Germany and Italy exclusively.

The narrative is scholarly in tone and displays a moderation that is surprising when we remember the political conditions under which it was written. Dr. Pribram's point of view is naturally Austrian, and he assumes as self-evident facts various hypotheses, such as a comprehensive *Einkreisungspolitik* on the part of England, which Anglo-Saxon historians are apt to question. But while many of his conclusions will be accepted only with reservations, they are nowhere completely vitiated by national bias. His indictment of Italian policy as brutally selfish and not entirely loyal is not pleasant reading, but it is supported by ample evidence of high quality. On the other hand it is obvious, and Dr. Pribram himself implies it, that if Italy made the most of her opportunities to increase her demands upon her allies, she was, according to diplomatic rules, justified in so doing by reason of the fact that as Russia and France drew more close to each other, the value of the Italian alliance to Germany and Austria increased commensurately. His narrative brings out the fact of Italy's use of the alliance to secure for herself opportunities for the exercise of influence in the Balkan Peninsula, at the moment when her government was permitting and possibly encouraging the rise of the irredentist spirit; and he emphasizes the embarrassment that Austria's concessions to Italy in the Balkans raised in the former's relations with Russia and Turkey, at the same time that Italy was meditating an imperialistic policy in the Adriatic. But it is difficult to accept his conclusion that, whereas Italy derived the greatest advantages from the Triple Alliance, it was Austria which, of the three powers, got the worst bargain. Admitting the extent of the sacrifices made by Austria, it seems true, as Professor Coolidge intimates in his preface to the American edition, that the alliance was of almost vital value to her. Given the increasing danger from Russia in the east, it was of the first importance that Italy in the west should be at least a titular friend. And the value of the alliance to Austria necessarily increased with the renaissance of nationalistic spirit in Hapsburg territories, which even before the war threatened the disintegration of the empire.

The text of the treaties naturally throws strong light upon many long-debated problems. Among the points now definitely settled may be cited the fact that it was the separate Austro-German alliance of 1879, which after 1902 was automatically renewed, and not the Triple Alliance that guaranteed German assistance to Austria in case of a Russian

attack and which formed the basis of the policy of the Central Empires. Equally significant is the anxiety of Italy to effect a *rapprochement* between the Triple Alliance and Great Britain, in view of Italy's Mediterranean policy, her partial and temporary success, and the increasing tendency of Italy to forsake her allies after the breach between Germany and Great Britain became serious. It is interesting also to note that the treaties of the Triple Alliance did not contain definite military stipulations; a special military convention between Germany and Italy was concluded in 1888, providing for the employment of Italian troops against France, and two naval agreements were concluded between the three powers of the alliance, the latter (1913) providing for united action of the combined naval forces of Germany, Italy, and Austria, especially in the Mediterranean. The suspicion that Rumania was definitely bound to the Triple Alliance is verified, and also the fact that Spain was drawn within its orbit during the late eighties.

Professor Coolidge's American edition, published by the Harvard University Press, will evoke the gratitude not merely of the general public, which is unwilling to read French and German, but of scholars, who would doubtless find it difficult to secure copies of the original edition and who would in any case have been embarrassed by the flimsy quality of its paper and binding. He has given to us the original texts of the treaties, with the translations most conveniently arranged upon the opposite page. As the matter included is thereby almost doubled, the translation of the narrative of the negotiations has been reserved for a second volume; but Dr. Pribram's introduction, summarizing his chief conclusions, has been inserted immediately before the texts of the treaties. The translation of the introduction is felicitous and effective, and the reviewer has been unable to detect errors either in this or in the translation of the texts. In view of the speed with which it has been completed and the importance of the subject-matter, the preparation and publication of Professor Coolidge's edition may be regarded as a *tour de force* deserving the warmest praise.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

*Der Weltkrieg.* VON KARL HELFFERICH. Band I. *Die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges.* Band II. *Vom Kriegausbruch bis zum uneingeschränkten U-Bootkrieg.* Band III. *Vom Eingreifen Amerikas bis zum Zusammenbruch.* (Berlin: Ullstein und Co. 1919. Pp. 230; 430; 658. M. 60.)

IN a preface remarkable for its high professions of entire good faith, and of the writer's desire to contribute to the re-establishment of enduring international relations, Dr. Helfferich promises the readers the truth and nothing but the truth.

As a trained scholar who since 1901 had been officially in touch with German colonial and financial policy and who during the war had been